

Soldier killed in Hizbullah bomb attack

Seven Lebanese civilians injured in IDF response

AN IDF soldier was killed and another was moderately wounded in a combined roadside bomb and anti-tank missile attack on their patrol in the security zone yesterday afternoon. The dead soldier was Sgt-Maj. Mohammed Hujairat, 28, a Beduin tracker from Deir al-Makour.

The attack prompted heavy exchanges of fire in the region, during the course of which six Lebanese civilians were wounded by IDF tank fire on Tibnit village, north of the zone, according to reports from Lebanon.

A senior official of Hizbullah, which claimed responsibility for the attack on the IDF patrol, warned that the organization might retaliate for the harming of

Lebanese civilians. The warning by Sheikh Nabil Kaouk, the Hizbullah official responsible for south Lebanon, further raised the state of tension in south Lebanon and along the northern border.

Kaouk was quoted by Hizbullah's Nur radio station as saying that the Grapes of Wrath monitoring committee had failed to protect Lebanese civilians. The organization, he said, could not be expected to stand idle and do nothing in light of casualties caused by Israeli shooting.

The Hizbullah attack occurred before 3 p.m. north of Beaufort

Castle in the eastern sector of the zone. According to reports, a mixed patrol of IDF troops on foot and in armored vehicles was clearing a road when a bomb detonated alongside them. At the same time Hizbullah gunmen opened long-distance fire at the patrol with Sagger anti-tank missiles.

Hujairat, the tracker of the patrol, was killed in the incident and another soldier wounded. The wounded soldier was treated in the field and evacuated to Haifa's Rambam Hospital suffering from neck injuries.

IDF gunners returned fire and in

the ensuing exchanges six people were hit while walking in Tibnit village. According to reports from Lebanon, they were all hit by flechette rounds fired by tanks. This form of anti-personnel shell, which contains scores of metal darts, is on the list of munitions banned by the Geneva Convention. The reports said that shells also landed near other villages, including Amoun, and that there was also activity by IAF helicopters and warplanes. There were no reports, however, of any air raids.

News agencies reported that the wounded civilians were taken for treatment in Nabatiya.

Hizbullah issued a statement claiming responsibility for the attack, but maintained that it was deep in the zone and that there was no excuse for the IDF shelling of Tibnit.

Prior to Operation Grapes of Wrath in April, Hizbullah's retaliation for shooting incidents in which Lebanese civilians were hurt took the form of Katyusha rocket attacks on the Galilee.

The understandings reached at the end of the operation were

designed to prevent civilian casualties on both sides of the border, by banning attacks on Galilee communities and villages north of the security zone.

A committee composed of representatives from the US, France, Israel, Syria, and Lebanon was established to supervise the agreement. It has met on several occasions since then to hear complaints by Israel and Lebanon over breaches of the understandings.

Lebanese radio stations quoted government sources as saying that Lebanon would call for a meeting of the monitoring committee over

yesterday's wounding of the civilians. The committee, which is now chaired by France's representative under a rotation agreement with the US, was scheduled to hold a regular meeting on Tuesday at UNTEL headquarters in Nakoura, inside the security zone.

It is expected that this will now be brought forward in view of the anticipated complaint from Lebanon over yesterday's incident at Tibnit.

It was not clear last night whether Kaouk's comments were aimed primarily at the monitoring committee - which Hizbullah has criticized in the past as being toothless and ineffectual - or the organization intends to retaliate in the zone for the Tibnit incident.



Moisture streams off space shuttle 'Columbia' yesterday as it glides down to a landing at the Kennedy Space Center after the longest shuttle flight so far. Story, Page 3. (AP)

25 IDF fatalities logged in Lebanon so far this year

SGT-MAJ. Mohammed Hujairat was the 25th soldier to die in Lebanon so far this year. The following is a list of previous incidents:

- * November 10 - Armored Corps soldier killed when a Sagger missile hits his Magach 7 tank near his outpost.
- * September 25 - Major and soldier killed when a paratrooper squad sets off a roadside booby trap.
- * September 19 - Lieutenant and sergeant from crack Golani unit killed in clash with Hizbullah gunmen.
- * August 28 - Givati sergeant killed in shoot-out with Hizbullah guerrillas.
- * August 20 - Givati sergeant killed by his own platoon mates fearing he was a Hizbullah guerrilla sneaking up on them.
- * August 6 - Medic killed by incoming mortar rounds as he rushes to tend wounded soldiers in his outpost.
- * June 10 - Two officers and three soldiers killed in ambush by Hizbullah guerrillas.
- * May 30 - Three officers, including a lieutenant colonel, and a soldier are killed by double roadside bombs near SLA headquarters in Marjayoun.
- * April 4 - Sergeant trying to move his troops to cover killed by mortar shrapnel at his outpost in the security zone.
- * March 20 - Officer killed when suicide bomber blows himself up near his IDF outpost.
- * March 10 - Soldier killed by roadside bomb.
- * March 4 - Four soldiers killed by roadside bomb.

Arich O'Sullivan

US seeks summit to ink Hebron pact

DAVID MAKOVSKY

US diplomats are consulting with Israeli and Palestinian leaders to determine whether there is enough common ground for a summit to conclude the Hebron talks.

US Ambassador Martin Indyk held talks with Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu on Friday. US Consul-General in Jerusalem Ed Abington, who held three hours of talks with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat until 3 a.m. yesterday morning, was returning for further talks with Arafat in Gaza late last night.

Abington is expected to get a Palestinian response, after Arafat held consultations in Cairo with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. Arafat has been consulting the Egyptian leadership throughout the Hebron talks.

There is a need to check whether common ground for resolving the differences exists, as the US wants to ensure that a Netanyahu-Arafat meeting does not end in failure. But US officials deny they are presenting any bridging proposals.

Meanwhile, there is a belief among those close to the negotiations that the two months of Hebron talks, largely between negotiators Yitzhak Molcho and Saeb Erekat, have run their course.

"At this point, those negotiations are no longer fruitful. They have gone as far as they can go. Both sides are moving to an endgame. If there is common ground, the two leaders should now resolve this," a US official said last night.

Labor Party leader Shimon Peres reportedly said in France over the weekend that Arafat was holding up the completion of the Hebron talks.

Having yielded on its insistence on explicit language enabling IDF reentry into Palestinian parts of Hebron, Israel believes it is the Palestinians' turn to concede on the issue of the type of weapons used by Palestinian forces in the city.

Israel does not want the Palestinians to use rifles outside of

Religious parties incensed over Noam Arnon's Shabbat arrest

HERB KEINON

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu last night ordered the security forces to look into the circumstances surrounding the arrest Friday night of Hebron settlement leader Noam Arnon and another man, Moshe Sheckel, Israel Radio reported.

Arnon's arrest and transport on Shabbat to a police station in Ashkelon led to a protest call to the prime minister from Transportation Minister Yitzhak Levy, as well as a call for a no-confidence vote by Moledet MK Benny Elon.

Arnon, according to a police spokesman, was arrested when he tried to remove a sign belonging to

the Wa'f inside the Machpela Cave, and attacked a police officer who prevented him from doing this.

But Hebron settlement resident Orit Shtruck said that the border policeman had acted aggressively with the Jews in the cave, and that when Arnon asked for his name, the policeman claimed that Arnon attacked him.

Shtruck said the focus of the disagreement was dividers belonging to the settlement, which are used in one of the halls in the cave during prayers to separate men and women. Shtruck said that the police

(Continued on Page 10)

Book: Peres offered to recognize Syrian sovereignty over Golan in 1992

ELDAD BECK

PARIS

AS early as September 1992, only a few months after the Labor Party's election victory, then foreign minister Shimon Peres informed Syria of Israel's readiness to recognize Syrian sovereignty over the Golan Heights, according to a book by former French foreign minister Roland Dumas.

According to the book, Israel was also ready to withdraw IDF troops from two-thirds of the

Golan, and to negotiate over a further withdrawal in exchange for a full peace treaty.

Syrian President Hafez Assad agreed to discuss the Israeli proposal through French mediation, but the Bush administration foiled the peace initiative, since it did not approve the French involvement, according to the book, *The Thread*

and the Ball.

During a meeting on September 5, 1992 in Paris at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Peres asked Dumas, who served under the late president Francois Mitterrand, to

(Continued on Page 10)

Freud's birthplace offers another kind of therapy

TOM GROSS

PLANS to turn the birthplace of Sigmund Freud, who revealed the central role of sexuality in human nature, into a museum have been thwarted by the current owner - who has turned the building into a massage parlor.

"I think Freud would have regarded the house's current usage with some amusement," says Shmuel Erlich, the Sigmund Freud Professor of Psychoanalysis at the Hebrew University.

The owner, Josef Matula, is blocking attempts by the town council in Pribor, northeastern Moravia, to open a museum dedicated to the father of psychoanalysis. Pribor is now in the Czech Republic, but was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire at the time of Freud's birth in 1856.

"We want to restore the building



Sigmund Freud in 1885

to what it looked like when the Freuds lived there," says Pribor Deputy Mayor Jan Monsport. Instead, a huge sign saying "Massage Therapy" in Czech is now displayed outside the house.

Since the collapse of communism, many hundreds of "massage parlors," most of which are in fact brothels, have sprung up all over

the Czech Republic. It is not clear how Freud would have interpreted the development, but local officials seem content with the phenomenon. "We don't mind sexual services being offered in other parts of Freud's native town," said a local official in Pribor, "but not in the home of our most famous son."

During the communist era, discussion of much of Freud's ideas was banned, but Pribor town officials nevertheless managed to erect a monument in the town square to him in 1969.

There are museums devoted to Freud in Vienna, where he spent most of his life, and in his former house in London, where he fled with his family following his daughter's detention by the Gestapo in 1938.

The Freud Museum in London contains his library, study, and the famous psychoanalytic couch on which his patients reclined, preserved just as they were during his lifetime.

But Jerusalem is the only place that has a Sigmund Freud chair endowed at its university.

"Although Freud was not at all religious, he was nevertheless proud of his Jewish identity, and often spoke at the Vienna B'nai B'rith," says Erlich. "He was sympathetic to the Jewish people's suffering and was on the board of the trustees of the Hebrew University in the 1920s and 30s."

Freud's father, Jakob, a wool merchant, and his mother, Amalie Nathanson, were from Galicia. Experts believe that the anti-semitism Freud suffered when he was a young medical student in Vienna was one of the factors that led him to spend much of his time developing new ideas about social relationships in Vienna University's physiological laboratory.

An exhibition at Tel Aviv Museum of Art of paintings by his grandson, Lucien, is presently attracting large crowds.

ONE OF A KIND

THE WINDMILL HOTEL JERUSALEM

There are many hotels in Jerusalem... But all agree we are second to none.

- Cable TV, all rooms
- Walking distance to the Old City and city center
- Facilities for family functions
- Quiet, family-run hotel
- Shabbat elevator strictly kosher

Your first choice

3 Mendela Street
Jerusalem 92147 Israel
Tel. 02-5653111
Fax: 972-2-5810864

Shakespeare in Tel-Aviv
Theatre • Dance • Cinema

With the support of the British Council. Available to Comeri Theatre Subscribers (open ticket).

With a dynamic fusion of live music, innovative choreography and stunning visual imagery, *Shaved Experience Theatre* bring you their powerful physical style to Shakespeare's mystical play: *The Tempest*.

"Theatre doesn't come much more exciting than this". Daily Telegraph.

Saturday 11.00, 7.30 pm, 9.00 pm
Sunday 12.00, 3.30 pm, 8.30 pm
Monday 11.00, 3.30 pm, Sunday 5.00, 8.00 pm

Box Offices: The Comeri Theatre 03-7211111, Bolshoi 03-5276099, Habima 03-5279797, Kasser 03-6014171, Leona 03-5217511, The Jerusalem Theatre 02-5810111, Ramat 02-6271011, Ramat 02-6276899, Tel-Aviv 03-51993122

Box Offices for forward campaigns: The Comeri Theatre 03-7211111, The Jerusalem Theatre 02-5810111

Exclusively for Isracard Holders: 70NIS discount with 160 stars

ISRACARD IT'S THE BEST

JAMISON POST TMT

Jerusalem Post Subscription Sales and Service 177-022-2978

JAVI GO 1350

Turkish PM signs IAI \$650m. F-4 deal

TURKEY'S Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan has signed a \$650 million agreement for the modernization of 54 F-4 Phantom fighter-bombers by the Israel Aircraft Industries, the Anatolian news agency reported on Friday.

The signature came after what Turkish sources say was extreme pressure from the Turkish military, which was said to have been fed up with Erbakan's delay. The prime minister said he objected to the high interest Turkey would pay in the financing of the deal, as well as what he claimed was the insufficient amount of work that would be performed by Turkish contractors.

IAI executives said they expect the first upgraded Phantom to fly to Turkey as early as mid-January. They said that both sides have agreed on the exact specification of the upgrade and are ready to implement the work. In the next step in the contract, they said, Israeli banks will submit a downpayment for the work to begin. The company said it does not have any money to carry out the work without outside financing.

Embassy in Ankara. "We feel very pleased that the project in question has been signed by Prime Minister Erbakan after a long period of talks," an embassy spokesman was quoted as telling Anatolian. "We want the project to be put into effect as soon as possible," the spokesman said. Twenty-six of the Turkish Air Force planes will be modernized in Israel and 28 in the western Turkish town of Eskisehir. The five-year deal will involve the installation of advanced avionics systems including radar and electronic warfare and navigation systems.

STEVE RODAN and news agencies

Israel condemns Lahad 'show trial'

Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies

THE Defense Ministry yesterday slammed as "a show trial" a Lebanese military court sentencing Antoine Lahad, commander of the South Lebanese Army militia, to death for treason.

come to Beirut to stand trial. He has repeatedly accused the government of being a lackey of Syria. The court also sentenced in absentia Etienne Fagr, commander of a small, radical, Christian militia, the Guardians of the Cedars, to life with hard labor for collaborating with Israel and illegally entering Israeli territory.

The military court on Friday sentenced Lahad in absentia to death for treason. It also sentenced the commander of a small radical militia to life with hard labor for collaborating with Israel.

The sentence against general Lahad is not a step taken by a country that is working toward peace, but rather a provocation that is aimed at sabotaging the chances for a [peace] arrangement between Israel and Lebanon," the Defense Ministry said.

Israel has demanded amnesty for all members of the SLA militia as a precondition for withdrawing from the security zone and reaching a peace treaty with Lebanon. The show trials that were held for General Lahad and additional Lebanese patriots in absentia, and the ridiculous sentences handed down against them, are carried out only in dictatorships and totalitarian regimes and they have no moral value," said a Defense Ministry statement. "These sentences will be thrown into history's garbage can."

This sentence attests without a doubt to the fact that Lebanon lacks a national will of its own, and to our distress is not able in the present circumstances to act as a legitimate and serious dialogue partner in negotiations with us.

Lahad, who commands a 2,500-strong militia, refused an order by judicial authorities in February to

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said yesterday Israel would continue to assist Lahad, the SLA, and other militia activists in the security zone, the statement said.

Arab council heads to proceed with protest

ISRAELI Arab council heads are to go ahead with a protest opposite the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem beginning today, despite the decision of the Union of Local Authorities to call off its nationwide strike of municipal services.

The Arab council leaders said Arab local authorities would get "very little" from the NIS 230 million in immediate financial aid to the 263 councils throughout the country. "The problem of our debts and our demands to receive the same allocations as councils in the Jewish sector still remain, so we have decided to carry on with our protest as planned," said Hussein Suleiman, spokesman for the forum of Arab Council Heads.

The council leaders intend to invite foreign ambassadors to the protest tent on Wednesday and present them with reports and documents outlining the problems of the Arab sector in general and the Arab local authorities in particular. The decision to go ahead with the protest tent was made at a meeting yesterday in Shfarim in the Galilee of the secretariat of the Arab Council Heads Forum.

Bar-Ilan dissociates PM from remarks about Friedman

DAVID MAKOVSKY

DAVID Bar-Ilan, senior aide to the prime minister, has dissociated Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and the government from remarks Bar-Ilan made recently, which included his belief that *New York Times* columnist Thomas L. Friedman should not be invited to speak at American Jewish organizational functions. While distancing Netanyahu from his own remarks, Bar-Ilan did not issue a retraction, despite a storm of reaction, including Anti-Defamation League director Abraham Foxman's questioning whether the Netanyahu government was creating an "enemies list" as existed in the Nixon administration.

Upon apparent orders from the premier, Bar-Ilan phoned Friedman to explain Netanyahu's dissociation from his remarks, then released a statement to the American Jewish weekly *Forward* Thursday night. "I want to make clear that in suggesting that the ADL should not have invited Mr. Tom Friedman to speak at an ADL function, I was speaking privately, not on behalf of Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu," Bar-Ilan wrote in the statement. "Mr. Netanyahu does not feel that the Israel government has a right to express an opinion about such matters." The ADL issued a statement welcoming the move. Friedman refused to comment.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Frogman buried at kibbutz ceremony
Naval commando Third Petty Officer Yair Engel, 20, who was killed on a training dive with his partner, 3PO Matan Polibuda, in Haifa Port last Wednesday night, was buried Friday at the cemetery of his home, Kibbutz Ramat Rachel. Thousands attended the funeral, at which the commander of the naval commando school said of Engel, "We saw you as a sterling example and looked forward to your becoming an officer in the unit." He added: "You were not alone in your final moments - you were tied to your friend, Matan. You dove to your deaths." Polibuda is to be buried at Jerusalem's Mt. Herzl Military Cemetery today.

Three killed in road accidents
Three people were killed in separate road accidents over the weekend. A driver was killed in the Golan Heights yesterday when his car collided head-on with a truck. Three passengers in the car suffered moderate injuries. On the Ashkelon-Ashdod road, a taxi driver was killed Friday when his vehicle crashed into a bus, apparently when he swerved into the oncoming lane. Over the weekend, a youth was hit and killed by a truck driven by an Israeli in Kalkilya. The driver was detained by the Palestinian Police and brought to the area liaison office for questioning.

Criminal motive suspected in youth's murder
Investigators of the murder of Assaf Steierman, 18, who was found beaten to death last Thursday in Kfar Sava, say it was "apparently criminally motivated." Asst.-Cmdr. Benny Kaniak, chief of the Sharon District, said yesterday the police could not yet give details or point to suspects in the case. "But in any event, the idea of a nationalist motive is dissipating," he said. Steierman, who had returned from the US to perform his military service, is to be buried today in Kfar Sava.

PA guard sentenced to life for killing prisoner
A Palestinian prison guard was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labor Friday for shooting a detainee to death, a Palestinian official said. The guard, Assam Jalaleh, was sentenced by a Palestinian military tribunal in Jericho, said the police official. The detainee, Rashid Fityani, 25, was killed late Tuesday in the Jericho jail, reportedly by 13 bullets fired at close range.

Israel lifts ban on Israelis entering Bethlehem
Israelis can visit Bethlehem again after the army said on Friday it was lifting a ban on entering the Palestinian self-rule enclave imposed after fierce clashes in September. "The closed military zone on Bethlehem has been lifted and the city is open to Israelis," an army spokesman said.



French President Jacques Chirac shakes hands with Labor Party leader Shimon Peres at the end of a meeting at the Elysee Palace yesterday. Peres told him he believes NATO should be represented in the Middle East peace talks. (Reuters)

'Albright has the depth, the leadership ability'

BACKGROUND HILLEL KUTLER

AS an insider in the Clinton administration's foreign policy team for the past four years, Madeleine Albright is expected to shift comfortably into her new job as secretary of state. The question is what approach she and the administration will adopt on the Middle East once Warren Christopher retires. Experts on the region say Albright, whom President Bill Clinton appointed on Thursday, has a keen grasp of the fundamental issues in both peace process and Persian Gulf matters. Albright was often the administration's leading voice on the need to maintain international sanctions on Iraq. She has been to Israel and will enjoy continued good relations with the American Jewish community, as did Christopher. The primary credential that observers say assures her standing in the pro-Israel community is Albright's belief in the importance of continued close American-Israeli relations, and that only the existence of such ties enable progress in the peace process.

Washington Institute for Near East Policy director Rob Satloff said that Albright "understands the issues very well. She understands all aspects of the bilateral relationship." As she participated in the group's 1992 trip to Israel, "what impressed her the most was to have a true US-Israeli relationship as a prerequisite to achieve wider objectives - how these two partners can work together to achieve common goals," Satloff said. Albright also earned the respect of the pro-Israel community in 1988 and 1992, when she helped moderate harsh resolutions

PM congratulates Albright

PRIME Minister Binyamin Netanyahu telephoned Madeleine Albright yesterday to congratulate her on her appointment as US secretary of state, Netanyahu's spokesman said. Spokesman Shai Bazak said Albright told Netanyahu she was looking forward to working closely with Israel in an effort to help push forward the peace process.

Jerusalem Post Staff



Madeleine Albright. (Reuters)

towards Israel in the Democratic Party platform. During those years, she served as foreign policy director in the Dukakis and Clinton campaigns, respectively. Richard Haass, the National Security Council director for the Middle East under president George Bush, said Albright's immediate goal in the peace process should be damage control, he said, and she should delegate that job to special Middle East coordinator Dennis Ross. "I think it would be a mistake for her to devote a lot of time to it, because I see zero chance for an Israeli-Syrian agreement and limited prospects beyond a Hebron agreement with the Palestinians," he said. Most observers believe that Albright will retain Ross, who would then be running the US peace process role under a fourth secretary of state. Ross and Albright know one another and some say Ross further demonstrated his indispensability during the recent Hebron talks. He also has said he wants to remain in the job.

The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* ran glowing lead editorials Friday on the appointments of Albright, William Cohen as defense secretary, Anthony Lake as CIA director, and Sandy Berger as national security adviser. What criticism Albright has faced in news reports is that she is not a grand strategic thinker. Allan Goodman, executive dean at the Georgetown University school of foreign service, begs to differ. He and Albright jointly taught a graduate course there for most of the 1980s on foreign policy decision-making and implementation. "She's got the depth, the leadership ability. She knows how to persuade foreign leaders and she's a very strategic thinker. What she can do is both think strategically and act tactically," he said. Should a Syrian-Israeli deal be more do-able, Albright's experience at the UN as the senior US official dealing with Iraqi officials on debates over sanctions increases her standing when she confronts Syrian President Hafez Assad, Satloff said.

Poll: 38% of Israelis trust Netanyahu

MANY Israelis believe there is a danger of war with Arab states and do not trust Binyamin Netanyahu as prime minister, according to a Gallup poll published in *Ma'ariv* on Friday. Asked if they saw a danger of war between Israel and Arab states, 63 percent said the danger existed, 29% said it did not and 8% did not know. On the question of whether they trusted Netanyahu as prime minister, 49% said they did not, 38% trusted him and 13% did not know. Respondents expressed dissatis-

faction with Netanyahu on the economic front. Asked about Netanyahu's handling of economic issues, only 19% said they were "very satisfied," 17% were "satisfied," 25% rated it "so-so," 44% said they were "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" and 13% did not know. Only 23% expressed satisfaction with Netanyahu's handling of negotiations with the Palestinian Authority and Syria, 28% rated it "so-so," 42% said they were "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied," and 7% said they did not know. (Reuters)

The funeral of our beloved mother

TONY ROSEN

(née Kriger)

will be held at the ancient cemetery in Safed today, Sunday, December 8, 1996, at approximately 9 p.m.

Phil and Malki Rosen
Nanette and Lazar Rand
Lenard Rosen

(For further information 08-921-7157)

We regret to announce the death of

IRENE ROTH

Widow of Cecil Roth

The funeral will take place tomorrow (Monday) at 11 a.m., at the Sanhedria cemetery.

Her Family and Friends

THE COUNCIL FOR HIGHER EDUCATION
Planning and Budgeting Committee
offers sympathy to
Yael Atiyah
on the death of her father
ARTHUR

BIG EXHIBITION/SALE of
HANDMADE CARPETS

Persian, Afghan, Caucasian, Uzbeki
Ethnic, Kilims, Somaks, Handmade

UP TO 50% OFF!

SALE AT KINGS' HOTEL, 60 King George St., Jm.
Sunday, December 8, 1 p.m. - 10 p.m.
Monday, December 9, 10 a.m. - 10 p.m.
Tuesday, December 10, 10 a.m. - 10 p.m.

Telephone during sale - 052-660868

LEARN TOSAFOT YOURSELF
MEI MENUHOT Series
by Rabbi Nachman Kahana

31 volumes in Hebrew covering 56 chapters of Talmud.
In English translations: Berachot and Chapter 8 of Bava Metzia.
Price: Hebrew volumes, NIS 25
English volumes, NIS 35

P.O.B. 6761, Yerushalayim Tel./Fax. 02-638-9245

Listen to Arutz 7, 711 and 1143 AM, 108

Astronauts return after longest-ever shuttle flight

CAPE CANAVERAL, Florida (AP) - After nearly 18 days aloft, Columbia and its astronauts returned to Earth yesterday, ending the longest flight in space shuttle history with a dawn landing.

Columbia swooped through a slightly hazy sky and touched down on the floodlit runway at 6:49 a.m., minutes before sunrise. The weather, finally, was good. Fog and low clouds thwarted landing attempts the two previous mornings.

The length of the science mission, marred by a jammed hatch, was 17 days, 15 hours, 54 minutes, and 20 seconds; the distance traveled: 11.2 million kilometers.

"Welcome home after your record-setting mission," Mission Control told the five astronauts after Columbia rolled to a smooth stop.

"We're glad to be here. It's a beautiful morning out here," replied shuttle commander Kenneth Cockrell.

In a celebratory call earlier in the morning,

Mission Control piped up a recording of the US Navy song "Anchors Aweigh," then gave Cockrell the go-ahead to fire the braking engines and come home.

"We're pumped up now," Cockrell said.

NASA's oldest shuttle and the crew, including the world's oldest space man, set the shuttle endurance record on Friday, a few hours after Mission Control decided to leave them up another day. Columbia had set the former record of 16 days, 21 hours, 48 minutes, and 30 seconds last summer.

"We did not set out to break that endurance record," flight director Wayne Hale said. "That's the silver lining here on not being able to land when we wanted to."

The delays provided yet another record for 61-year-old Dr. Story Musgrave, who became the oldest person in space when Columbia rocketed into orbit on November 19. The astronaut is the first to fly six times on space shuttles and the first to ride in all five shuttles.

Even after such a long mission, crew fatigue was not a concern because a major task was yanked from the astronauts' plan. Two spacewalks to practice building the future international space station were canceled because of a stuck hatch.

And while astronauts sometimes become dizzy when re-exposed to gravity, doctors believe pilots could spend more than 20 days in orbit and still be able to guide shuttles to a safe touchdown, Hale said.

While in orbit, the crew released and retrieved an ultraviolet telescope that observed stars and galaxies, and a satellite that grew thin semiconductor film in the super-clean vacuum of space.

It was the seventh and final shuttle mission of the year.

NASA's next shuttle flight, in January, will be a ferry trip by Atlantis to the Russian space station Mir to pick up astronaut John Blaha and leave behind his replacement.

Next step in Guatemala peace process signed in Sweden

STOCKHOLM (AP) - The warring sides in Guatemala yesterday signed an accord on constitutional and electoral reforms, the second of three agreements that are to lead to a final treaty ending Central America's last and longest civil war.

The agreement came three days after the sides signed a permanent cease-fire in Oslo, Norway. The Stockholm agreement addresses some of the basic issues behind the 36-year-long conflict that left some 140,000 people dead.

The signers included Gustavo Porras, coordinator of the Guatemalan government's peace commission; Carlos Gonzalez, a leader of the Guatemalan rebels; and UN peace mediator Jean Amault.

The negotiators now move to Madrid, Spain, where an agreement on reintegrating the rebels into society is to be signed tomorrow.

The final peace treaty is to be signed in Guatemala on December 29.

The Stockholm signing was a

much more low-key affair than the gala cease-fire signing in Oslo. But many there had cautioned that the guns might not stay silent unless larger questions were addressed.

"The cease-fire cannot be considered the climax," Amault said on Friday.

Among the issues in the Stockholm agreement are the recognition of Mayan and other indigenous peoples as equal members of society and calling for respect of their religions.

Amault said one of the most difficult considerations in future negotiations is deciding on a timetable for changes. If it's too ambitious, the changes might not come as quickly as planned, leaving Guatemalans suspicious; if too slow, they could become resentful over a long wait.

He pointed to the tensions that took place in El Salvador when rebels spent months in demobilization camps after laying down their weapons.

"There is a question of expecta-

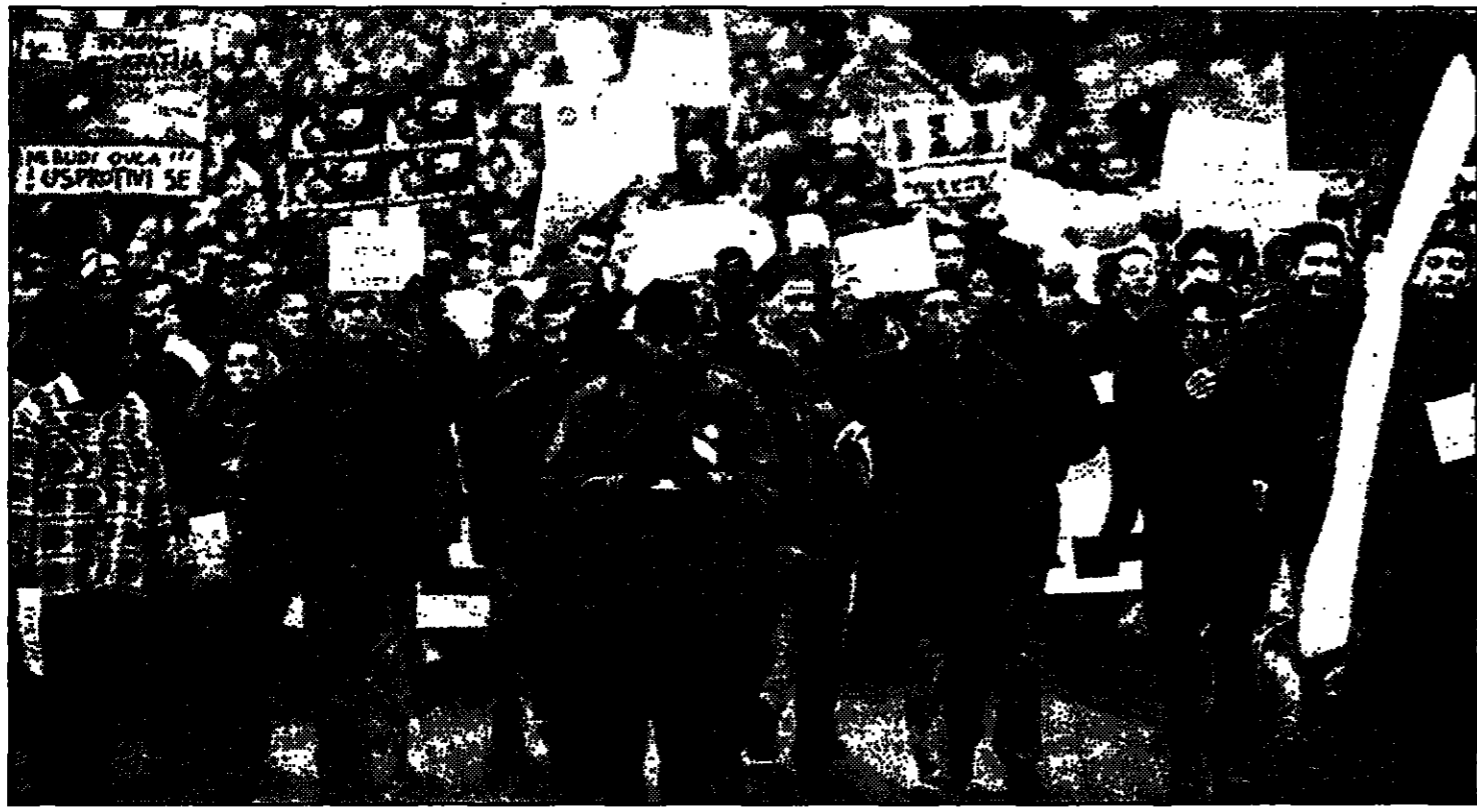
tions," he said. "The credibility of the package will be maintained only if the momentum is kept up."

In both El Salvador and Nicaragua, many rebels rearmed or became common criminals when the governments failed to provide promised land, loans, job training, and basic education.

Amault also noted that the war had gone on for so long that it has "fed a sense of impunity, a sense of pessimism" that could hinder implementing peace.

In addition, the war "has not crippled Guatemala ... it has not prevented Guatemala from being the best-off economically of the five Central American countries."

The peace process has been a long one, beginning nearly seven years ago when rebels and government officials held a first, awkward meeting in Oslo. The momentum picked up this year, with the provisional cease-fire on March 20, followed by accords committing the government to increased social spending and a rural development plan.



Students march through Belgrade yesterday protesting against President Slobodan Milosevic. At least 80,000 people are said to have turned out to demonstrate against the policies of the Yugoslav government for the 19th consecutive day. See story below. (AP)

Security guards may have been exposed to radiation at US nuclear plant

WISCASSET, Maine (AP) - About 40 security guards at the Maine Yankee nuclear plant may have been exposed to radiation after sitting in a chair that contained a radioactive particle, officials said on Friday.

The announcement came the same day the troubled, 24-year-old plant was shut down because some cables were routed incorrectly.

The particle, discovered on Wednesday, may have been embedded in the cloth-covered chair at a guard station since January. The workers didn't require medical attention.

"While the actual dose appears to be well below federal limits, this discovery illustrates a severe weakness in work practices that cannot and will not be tolerated at Maine Yankee," said Charles Fritzie, plant president.

The plant was investigating how the particle got in the chair, spokeswoman Maureen Brown said. She described the particle as "microscopic."

Cloth-covered chairs are not recommended for the primary or restricted, side of the plant, where the particle was found. The chairs' static can attract radioactive particles, the plant said.

The discovery comes a little more than a month after eight workers were exposed to trace levels of radiation in October. Officials said the employees returned to work a few days afterward, and there was no threat to public health or safety.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is to decide in January whether to place the plant on a formal "watch list" of troubled plants. A recent NRC inspection cited safety problems.

Taliban forces down plane carrying Tajik opposition leader

KABUL (AP) - Taliban jet fighters yesterday intercepted a UN aircraft carrying a rebel leader from Tajikistan and forced it to land at a military air base in western Afghanistan, a Taliban spokesman said.

"They didn't get the proper permission and we were within our rights to force them to land," said Abdul Niaz, a Taliban spokesman in the Afghan capital, several hundred kilometers east of Shindand Air Base, where the aircraft was forced to land.

Niaz said Tajikistan's opposition leader Syed Abdullo Nuri was on board the aircraft, along with eight other people, some of whom were Iranians. All the passengers and crew were unharmed.

There were some unconfirmed reports that the Taliban would release the aircraft and passengers today.

Nuri was on his way to Kunduz in northern Afghanistan to attend peace talks with Tajikistan's beleaguered President Emomali Rakhmanov to try to end the bitter civil war in neighboring Tajikistan, said Akbar Torajanzada, a spokesman for Nuri in Kabul.

The peace talks were to be held tomorrow, he said.

Niaz said the UN aircraft which had left Mashhad in neighboring Iran was forced to land after it entered Afghan air space over western Herat without first getting permission.

Herat is controlled by the Taliban, while northern Kunduz is ruled by an anti-Taliban alliance, that includes northern warlord Rashid Dostum and ousted Afghan president Burhanuddin Rabbani, who is an ethnic Tajik.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Seven bodies found in Japanese mudslide
TOKYO (AP) - The death toll from a massive landslide at a snowy construction site in northern Japan rose to seven yesterday as rescuers searched for nine workers still missing. More than 1,400 police, fire, and military rescuers have struggled for two days in heavy snow to find the 14 construction workers buried when rain and snow sent mud surging down a narrow river valley on Friday.

By late yesterday, seven bodies had been lifted from the mud. Police spokesman Makoto Watanabe said. Police held out little hope of finding any survivors buried under mountains of rock and mud.

Of the seven victims, all construction workers, six were men. Of the missing, police said two are believed to be women.

German police search for Paris bombers
BONN (AP) - German federal police said yesterday that they have launched a search for suspects in a Paris subway bombing that killed three people. A spokeswoman for the Federal Criminal Office confirmed a report in the newspaper *Bild* that some of the terrorists may be hiding out in Germany.

The spokeswoman said French authorities had asked for help locating suspects in the Tuesday bombing. She disclosed no other details.

Bild reported that French authorities are looking for eight Algerians who split up into two groups after the bombing and fled to Germany and Italy. The newspaper did not reveal its sources.

Skinheads attack Bratislava rabbi
BRATISLAVA (Reuters) - Four skinheads attacked and insulted the rabbi of Bratislava, Baruch Meyers, in the city center on Friday, but he escaped unharmed, a police spokesman told Reuters. "A group of four skinheads attacked the rabbi, one kicked him in the hand but caused no injury," the spokesman said. "All four attackers were apprehended and two have been detained."

He was unable to give more details. "The further procedure is now in the hands of the local police investigator," the spokesman said.

It was the second attack by skinheads in two years on Meyers, an American. Meyers was not available for comment.

Russia's Chechnya withdrawal on schedule
MOSCOW (AP) - A trainload of military equipment was set to leave Chechnya over the weekend, as Russia continues its withdrawal from the rebel republic, a news agency said yesterday. The artillery division of the 205th Motorized Brigade loaded its equipment onto the train and was expected to leave today, the Interfax news agency said.

A military spokesman said the withdrawal of the last two Russian brigades in Chechnya is proceeding on schedule. President Boris Yeltsin last month ordered the brigades to leave. The Russian units, one from the army and one of Interior Ministry troops, consist of about 8,000 servicemen and have more than 2,000 armored vehicles.

The pullout is expected to be completed by January 25, two days before Chechnya's scheduled presidential and parliamentary elections.

Zairean, Ugandan rebels clash in eastern Zaire

BENI, Zaire (AP) - Zairean rebels yesterday surrounded the town held by government troops in eastern Zaire, local residents and hospital workers said.

A Zairean rebel officer, who refused to give his name, said his forces were on the outskirts of Bunia, 370 kilometers north of Goma on Lake Kivu.

Hundreds of troops fighting under the banner of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for Liberation (Congo-Zaire) headed north on the 160-kilometer road from Beni to Bunia yesterday morning.

Truckloads of young local fighters allied with the rebels headed toward Bunia singing battle songs and raising clenched fists in the air. The young warriors are called *mayi-mayi* or "powerful water" in Swahili, from the potion they believe will protect them from harm.

The Zairean rebels also clashed overnight Friday and yesterday with Ugandan rebels west of Beni, near the Ugandan border in Virunga National Park, hospital workers in Beni said. At least one Zairean rebel was wounded.

In six weeks, the rebels have overrun a strip of eastern Zaire north of Lake Tanganyika. Because of the rebel successes, Zaireans and international observers have been taking more seriously rebel leader Laurent Desire Kabila's vow to topple President Mobutu Sese Seko's corrupt, 31-year regime.

A multinational effort to help Rwandan refugees in eastern Zaire has stalled because at least 640,000 returned home to escape the fighting. It is not known how many are left in Zaire or their condition.

Local officials in Butembo and Beni were trying to cope with the consequences of the battles in the region over the past 10 days.

Crisis committees in both towns estimated more than 10,000 people have been displaced, straining local resources. Butembo's water treatment plant was out of chlorine to purify water.

"We need food for all these people who came from other places," said Munkula Kibamba, a committee member in Butembo, which fell to the rebels on November 27.

In Beni, Zairean Red Cross officials struggled to keep the hospital operating and to collect corpses left by fighting last week.

"All the doctors fled during the fighting, so now we only have one Red Cross doctor," said Mustafa Lufungula, head of the Zairean Red Cross in Beni, which the rebels took on November 30. "We are also running out of medicines."

Red Cross workers have collected more than 120 bodies in the past week, most of them Zairean soldiers. Hospital workers and local human rights officials report more than 400 people died in the fighting.

THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

announces the thirty-seventh series of
Dr. Chaim Weizmann Memorial Lectures
to be given in English by
Professor James E. Rothman
Vice Chairman
Sloan-Kettering Institute
Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center
New York, U.S.A.

First Lecture: Sunday, December 15, 1996, 4:00 p.m.
"Intracellular Protein Transport"

Second Lecture: Monday, December 16, 1996, 4:00 p.m.
"Synaptic Transmission"

The lectures will be held at the Dolfi and Lola Ebner Auditorium on the Institute Campus, Rehovot.

The public is invited.

THE ISRAEL PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA
Concert program for 8.12-14.12

For the attention of ticket holders for the Gala Concert on December 26th: Due to the length of the concert, the concert will begin at 7.30 p.m. and not at 8.30 as previously announced.

Michael Stern, conductor
Murray Perahia, piano

Program:
Barber: Meditation and Vengeance Dance from "Medea"
Mozart: Piano concerto no. 24, K. 491
Schumann: Introduction and Allegro appassionato
Schumann: Concerto Allegro with Introduction
Tchaikovsky: Francesca da Rimini

Sun. 8.12.96, 8:30 p.m. T-A, concert 3 series B *
Tue. 10.12.96, 8:30 p.m. T-A, concert 3 series E *
Thur. 12.12.96, 8:30 p.m. T-A, concert 3 series F **
Sat. 14.12.96, 8:30 p.m. Haifa, concert 3 series B **

Ticket sales for the 60th Jubilee Festival in December 1996 continues

IT'S TIME TO TAKE YOUR HEAD OUT OF THE SAND

CAPITALIZATION IS WORTHWHILE FOR EVERY HOME!

The Israel Lands Authority is now offering another opportunity to owners of apartments and private homes who pay ground rent (dmei hachira) and who have not already taken advantage of the capitalization campaign. Now, you too may capitalize your leasing agreement, under especially favorable payment conditions.

With capitalization, you make a one-time payment, which covers the calculated amount for all your future payments.

Office hours: Sunday - Thursday, 8:00 a.m. - 3:30 p.m.
Call today for details:
* Jerusalem: Tel. 02-624-2177, 539-2777 * Northern Region and the Golan: Tel. 04-468-882, 558-211 * Haifa: 04-866-9407, 835-5411 * Central Region: 03-562-6630, 563-8383 * Tel Aviv: Tel. 03-563-8111, 562-6630 * Southern Region: 07-623-4449, 629-4777 * Judea and Samaria: Tel. 02-997-7706

ISRAEL LANDS AUTHORITY

JAN 10 1997



Russian maverick politician Vladimir Zhirinovskiy smiles as he points a gun while sitting beside famous Russian singer Alla Pugacheva's double during a press conference in Moscow yesterday. Zhirinovskiy tries his luck as an actor in a movie called 'Doubles on the Ship,' with doubles of many famous world and Russian personalities.

Still in control or headed for The Hague? Mladic's future unclear

PAUL GEITNER
PALE, Bosnia

THE new Bosnian Serb leader has done what her predecessor couldn't - sack Gen. Ratko Mladic, the popular, but sometimes disobedient military commander.

But Karadzic was forced to back down. Mladic enjoyed strong support from his troops and his paymaster, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who helped bankroll the Bosnian Serb war effort.

meeting chaired by US Gen. William Crouch, commander of NATO ground forces in Bosnia, his deputy was a Mladic aide, Gen. Zdravko Tolimir.

Western officials praise the firing and hope that Mladic is finally on his way to face war crimes charges in The Hague, Netherlands. But Bosnian Serb army sources say Mladic has not lost his power base.

Milosevic later used Mladic to pressure the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Dayton peace agreement he signed for them a year ago.

In the war, the Bosnian Serbs had far more firepower, most of it from the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army. With Mladic out, that link is in question.

Perhaps more troubling for Bosnia's future, those army sources worry that the internal struggle is destroying the last vestiges of a professional army, while Bosnian Serb politicians build up a repressive police force whose movements are less constrained by NATO-led peace troops.

Karadzic, also an indicted war crimes suspect, was forced out of office and public view by international pressure last July. But he still wields influence through President Biljana Plavsic, a fellow hard-liner who hates Milosevic for abandoning the Bosnian Serb cause.

The Bosnian Serbs have gotten almost no foreign aid in the year since the Dayton accord was signed, mainly because of their intransigence on such issues as handing over indicted war criminals.

US vampire cult mother says game was 'fun'

EUSTIS, Florida (Reuter) - What started as a role-playing game for a group of teenagers turned into a cult of self-proclaimed "vampires," who cut their bodies, drank blood, and now face charges of murdering one member's parents.

obsession, according to police. Ferrell had recruited Wendorf, his girlfriend, into the game, his mother said.

Gibson scoffed. "All part of the game," she said. Ferrell began wearing black shirts, black trousers, a long black jacket, and black cowboy boots. He died his blond hair black and painted his fingernails black.

Man cleared by DNA of two rapes freed after 10 years

COLUMBUS, Ohio (AP) - Walter Smith spent nearly 11 years in prison for two rapes that DNA tests show he didn't commit. His plans upon his release Friday were simple: a hot bath and a lobster dinner.

Zaireans at a loss as world abandons drifting state

WILLIAM WALLIS
KINSHASA

WITH the outside world reluctant to step in to rescue Zaire from collapse, its 40 million people are beginning to look inward for a solution to the escalating crisis triggered by the Tutsi rebellion in the east.

asked on Friday. Zaire's army, unpaid, unfed, and trained to serve the interest of a corrupt elite, has proved unable to withstand the rebel onslaught in the east.

In recent weeks, town after town has fallen to the rebels, whose leader Laurent Kabila says he is fighting to overthrow Mobutu.

US Supreme Court's decision on Internet free speech issue will be momentous

WASHINGTON (AP) - The contours of free speech in the 21st century - and children's access to smut - could be shaped next year, as the Supreme Court decides the US government's power to regulate indecency on the Internet.

Washington-based Center for Democracy and Technology. "Unquestionably, we need Supreme Court guidance on these issues," he said.

30 years," he said. The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and the press, among other basic rights.

Nebraska Democrat, and Dan Coats, an Indiana Republican, who co-sponsored the legislation, said they hope the high court will reinstate the law.

Coats said: "This bill was passed overwhelmingly with the strong support of Democrats and Republicans, conservatives and liberals. It is my strong hope that the court will underscore the strengths of the bill in its ruling."

Clinton administration lawyers told the Supreme Court that the Philadelphia ruling "imperils the government's ability to protect children from... sexually explicit material that is now widely disseminated on the Internet."

Some of that material may be deemed indecent, but not legally obscene, and therefore is entitled to constitutional protection.

CITY OF HOPE:
Jerusalem from Biblical to Modern Times
This handsome history and pictorial album offers a multi-faceted account of Jerusalem, tracing the sequence of events, and featuring famous personalities, archeology, spiritual trends, and more.

THE PALESTINIANS BETWEEN TERRORISM AND STATEHOOD...
Pinhas Inbari's book provides an in-depth account of the current Israel-Palestinian peace process, including developments in the Israeli-occupied territories, and the internal struggles within the PLO and between the PLO and its adversaries.

SUNBIRDS AND MOONFLOWERS
and other Nature Notes. This is a very nicely produced collection of articles by D'vora Ben Shaul, which appeared over the years in The Jerusalem Post.

AMERICAN OUTLOOK

Sunday, December 8, 1996



Should abortion be punishable by death?

By ALAN DERSHOWITZ

The Delaware attorney general's announcement that she might seek the death penalty in the infanticide case against a teenage couple has raised a perplexing dilemma for some right-to-life advocates. On my radio show recently, I asked listeners whether they support the death penalty for infanticide. A considerable number said yes. I noted that some of the strongest proponents of the death penalty for infanticide were right-to-life advocates. I then posed the following question: If you believe that infanticide warrants the death penalty, must you not also take the position that abortion warrants the death penalty, because you believe that there is no difference between a fetus and a newly born infant?

To my surprise, many of my listeners took the bait and argued strongly in favor of the death penalty for women who have abortions, especially late-term abortions. I then extended my challenge to early-stage abortion and even the "morning-after pill," because many right-to-life advocates argue that life begins at the moment of conception. Again, some right-to-life zealots stuck to their guns and demanded the death penalty even for women who took the morning-after pill. Some advocated capital punishment for doctors who prescribe the morning-after pill or perform abortions.

It is tempting to dismiss these extremist views as unrepresentative of the right-to-life movement. Surely they do not represent the views of many mainstream Catholics and others who oppose both abortion and capital punishment. But there are a surprising number of Americans who oppose abortion and favor capital punishment, and it was to those people whom I addressed my challenge.

I was amazed to hear caller after caller take their "logic" to the extreme of equating the punishment for infanticide and abortion. I expected to hear some callers argue that both should be crimes, but that killing a live human being who is outside his mother's body and independently viable is worse than terminating a pregnancy. But the ideology of the extremist right-to-life movement — that there is no difference between a fetus and a born human being — has so captivated the minds of some of its advocates that they seem incapable of making rational distinctions. (The same can be said, by the way, of some extremists in the "choice" movement who seem incapable of distinguishing between a woman's right to terminate a pregnancy during the first month and having a late-term abortion of a viable fetus for non-health-related reasons.)

If you believe that infanticide warrants the death penalty, must you not also take the position that abortion warrants the death penalty, because you believe that there is no difference between a fetus and a newly born infant?

The truth is that all life is a slippery slope. It begins at conception, becomes more complex during pregnancy, more viable just before birth, biologically independent of the mother at birth, more developed in years to come — only to begin its decline toward the other end of the continuum where the "right to die" comes into play. There are few clear lines of demarcation.

But the history of civilization is a history of line-drawing, arbitrary as the line must sometimes be in a given situation. One line human beings have always recognized is birth. That line, too, is somewhat arbitrary, because a fetus in the moments before birth is much closer to a live baby than it is to a week-old fetus. But then again, a 17-year-old is closer to an 18-year-old than to a 1-year-old, but we consider the 17-year-old a minor (for many purposes) while the 18-year-old can vote and engage in many other (but not all) adult activities.

The line of actual birth is not a sharp one for another reason. The law has generally recognized a distinction between a mother who kills or abandons her child immediately after childbirth and a parent who kills or abandons a 2-, 3-, 4- or 5-year-old. Infanticide is never punished by death and rarely by a long prison term. The law seems to understand that many mothers suffer from post-partum depression after giving birth and that the killing of a newborn is generally less calculated than the killing of an older child. The law also distinguishes between criminals who kill their own children and criminals who kill other people's children, even though there is no good theoretical justification for such a distinction if one focuses on the rights of the child.

Some religious absolutists have difficulties with these distinctions. They argue that "a life is a life" and anyone who takes a life must die. Because, for them, the "killing" of a week-old fetus and an 18-year-old college student are morally indistinguishable, they demand capital punishment for both. In doing so, they weaken the right-to-life movement, because no rational legal system would ever tolerate the death penalty for abortion. Nor should any rational system accept execution as an appropriate punishment for a mother who kills her infant immediately after giving birth.

Alan M. Dershowitz is a professor of law at Harvard University. His newest book is *Reasonable Doubts* (Simon & Schuster).

© 1996, United Feature Syndicate Inc.

A plea for diversity Give Secretary of State job to a woman

By MICHAEL KELLY

Around here, we have been talking lately about whom U.S. President Bill Clinton should pick as his new Secretary of State, and by and large the conversation has been conducted on a pretty elevated plane. Until now. By the time this is read, Clinton may have made his choice, but regardless of that I would like to take this opportunity to get on the record with a low, ad hominem assault against two fine men.

I'm violently opposed to the idea of Richard Holbrooke as Secretary of State and only slightly less set against George Mitchell, and it is entirely personal. I don't care if they're qualified. They represent that which makes life in Washington hell.

They are archetypes of the Washington Male. The Washington Male is the reason so many Washington females have that drawn, pained expression all the time. It comes from having dinner with Washington Males. I grew up here, and I have been going with mounting reluctance to Washington dinner parties more or less all my life, and at every table I have ever sat at there has been either a Holbrooke or a Mitchell. One is louder than the other, but they're both unbearable. There is nothing that arises in This Town on which they do not have an opinion. And it is going to be an informed opinion. And it is going to be an informed opinion that they have recently shared with the president, or Ted Koppel, or Bill Safire. And it is going to be an informed opinion expressed in ringing, plonking tones. And it is very likely going to be a furious informed opinion recently shared, ringingly expressed. But there is not going to be any gain-saying it, not unless you are prepared to spend the next two hours arguing the finer points of Pamela Harriman's subtle influence on our policy toward Nagorno-Karabakh. There's no kidding about it, either; the Washington Male has absolutely and profoundly no sense of humor.

And greater love hath no man than this: that of the Washington Male for the Washington Male. A really pure Washington Male can be wrong about everything he does and says for decades without harboring a single twinge of self-doubt. (Robert McNamara was probably the platonic ideal here. You would think that a man who had given the world the Edsel, flexible response and the war in Vietnam would stop to consider whether he was really cut out for executive work. But no, onto the World Bank and to building the debt crisis.) Earlier this year, the playwright Anna Devere-Smith spent a couple of months in Washington observing the locals. The thing that above all amazed her, she told me, was her discov-

ery of the habit the Washington Male has, when reaching for a particularly bon mot, of literally quoting himself. "You will be seated next to some man at a dinner party — a reporter, usually — and he will turn to you, and say, 'As I said on Brinkley yesterday,' and then he will, honestly, repeat word for word what he did say on Brinkley yesterday," she marveled. "It's the most astonishing thing." There are women in Washington who have been listening to this sort of thing every night for 30 years. It's a miracle the homicide rate is as low as it is.

I'm violently opposed to the idea of Richard Holbrooke as Secretary of State and only slightly less set against George Mitchell.... They represent that which makes life in Washington hell. They are archetypes of the Washington Male.

Holbrooke is, in a very obvious way, the perfect Washington Male. You couldn't make him up. I spent some time last summer trailing him around Washington and Croatia for a story in *The New Yorker* about his efforts to negotiate a peace in Bosnia. Generally, the problem in this kind of reporting is getting access to the person you are writing about. People involved in sensitive diplomatic missions tend to be wary about talking to the press. With Holbrooke, the problem was limiting the access. I would spend two or three hours taping, say, Holbrooke on Milosevic, walk back to my hotel room and barely get my shoes off before the phone rang with a call from the State Department operator patching through Holbrooke on Karadzic. He once called me in the middle of the night to announce that he had made space for me on his jet for a flight early the next morning from Belgrade to Sarajevo. But, I said weakly, I was not in Belgrade. I was in Washington, in bed. He was appalled. Well, he said, the flight left in seven hours. Could I get to Belgrade by then? Eventually, exhaustedly, I wrote a modest story that I thought was mostly positive; it gave Holbrooke the credit he deserved for the Dayton peace plan, such as it was. I don't think Holbrooke liked it very much. A year later he found a better biographer, himself. He wrote up his own story and *The New Yorker* published

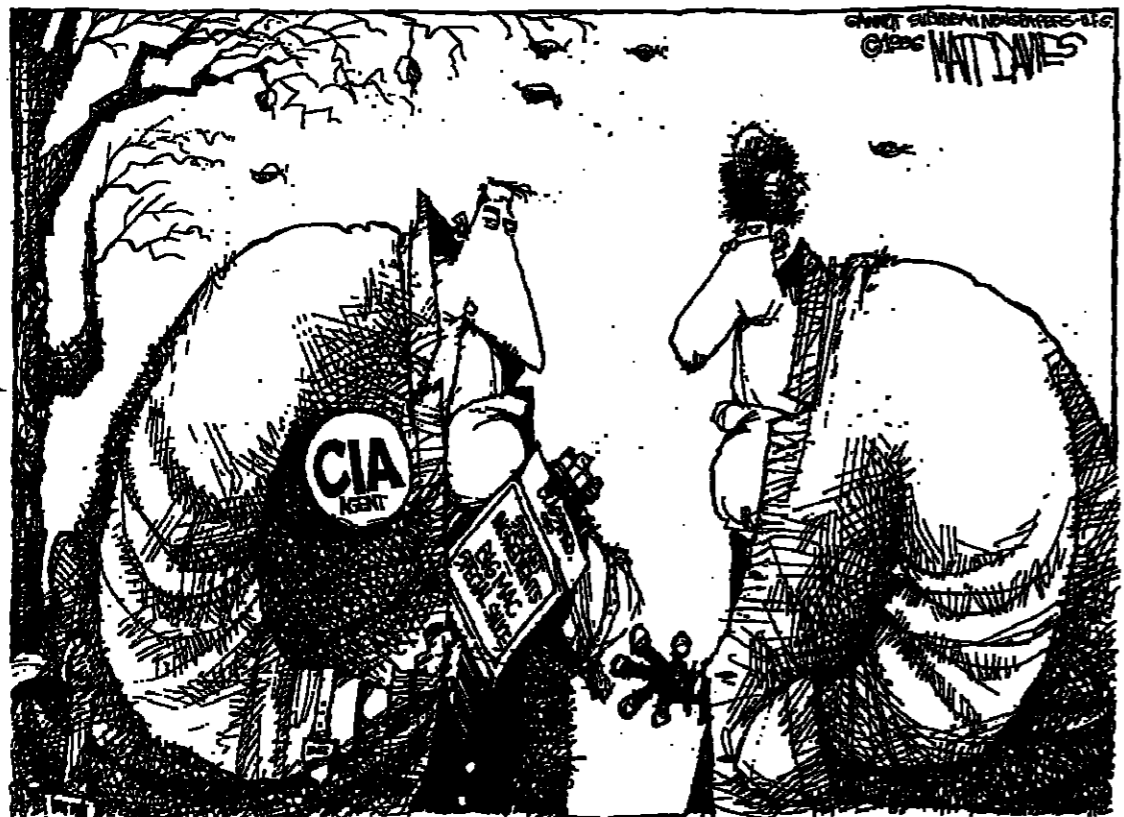
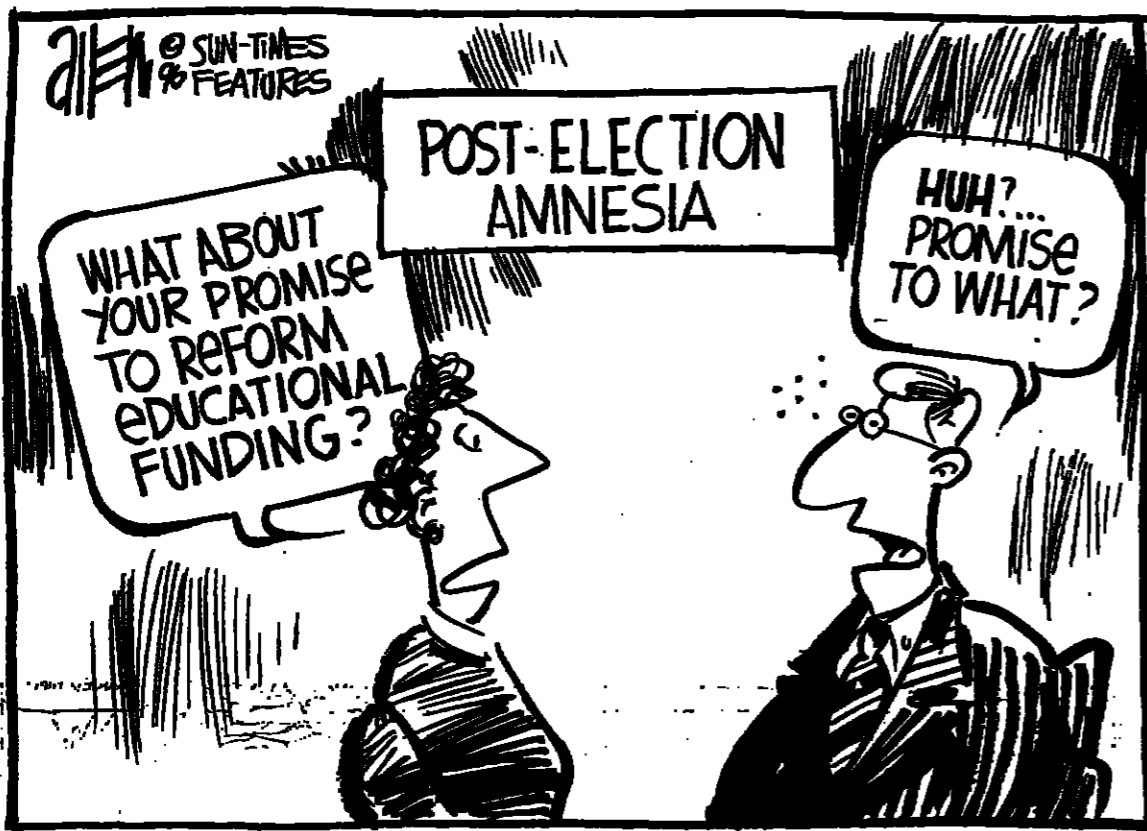
it, at about the time the Nobel Committee was deciding who should get the peace prize this year. A few days after the magazine went on the stands, *The New Yorker's* publicity department got a telephone call from Holbrooke's office.

Ambassador Holbrooke, the caller said, would like to know if *The New Yorker* had sent a copy of the issue to every member of Congress.

Mitchell is a less obvious Washington Male than Holbrooke. He is a lot quieter, for one thing. But he is alike in the essentials. Where Holbrooke has ostentatiously clawed and grappled his way up the greasy pole, Mitchell has more gently floated ever higher, borne on the uplifting vapors of mediocrity rising to its natural level. As Senate majority leader, he managed to be both relentlessly partisan and relentlessly ineffective. He did at least as much as Newt Gingrich to cost the Democrats Congress, and he was even more sanctimonious about it. Actually, in a choice between Holbrooke and Mitchell, Holbrooke comes out ahead. He is at least skilled at what he does (that is to say, he is skilled at bullying people, which is how he got the boys in Dayton, and he is skilled at leaking and spinning to the press, which is how he made Dayton look like Appomattox). And he is naked in his hungers, and there is something perversely appealing about that. Mitchell manages, like McNamara, to augment a nearly total lack of competence with a nearly total conviction that he is perfectly competent for anything. Holbrooke is Kissinger without the wit; Mitchell is Christopher without the suits. Holbrooke as Secretary would mean that *The New York Times* would run every day a story detailing how, in the words of an unnamed senior administration official, everyone in the administration except Secretary Holbrooke was an utter buffoon. Mitchell would mean that the Times would run every day a story explaining how, in the words of an unnamed senior administration official, we could do business with the Serbs, but not with the Republicans.

So what is called for is diversity. Give the job to the candidate from the other gender. Madeleine Albright has a lot of things going for her. She is smart, she is not averse to the use of force, she has been tough and right at the United Nations, she can't abide Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and at times she is even funny. It is true that she is a friend of Barbra Streisand, but it's only a matter of time before Richard Holbrooke and George Mitchell are friends of Barbra Streisand, too. Michael Kelly is a senior editor of *The New Republic*, in which this article first appeared. © 1996, The New Republic. This story was written before President Clinton appointed Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State.

EDITORIAL CARTOONS



A GLIMPSE INTO THE DANGEROUS UNDERWORLD OF POST-COLD WAR ESPIONAGE.

Newt Gingrich's promise is same old game

BY HANNA ROSIN

Newt Gingrich lumbered toward the podium, stood still for a moment and choked back tears, a dramatic entrance that reporters writing about the House speaker's re-election speech last week could not resist noting. Humbled, weary, his eyes somber, the speaker vowed he was a changed man: "So we find ourselves here with a Democratic president and a Republican Congress, and we have an absolute moral obligation to make this system work," he swore. "Together, we are in fact going to find common ground." Gone was last year's "confrontation Congress." It would be replaced by what Gingrich dubbed "The Implementation Congress."

Around the Capitol, iron wills were melting. "It sounds like message received," said a stunned Peter King, the GOP congressman who only days earlier had been calling for Gingrich to resign the speaker's seat. "Our problem was with his tone, and he seems to have changed that." The press purred. "Bittersweet," "poignant," "wise," "chastened," were the adjectives of choice. "A kinder, gentler Gingrich," one headline read.

The press nuzzled up to the Newt, perhaps out of guilt for having pounded him, or because the story lends itself so well to clichés (Neutron Newt Suffers Meltdown). But if they had checked their archives, reporters would have found that the Newt story is what they call a hardy perennial — or more like a quadrennial. Every few years, after a long fit of unbridled ranting, Gingrich disappears for a while, then returns chastened, swearing he is a new man, a tamed man, a man of bipartisan instincts. Then, in a matter of months, sometimes weeks, the infernal machine starts to crackle, first in Tourettec outbursts, until it eventually erupts in a grand explosion.

"At the risk of disappointing those who were hoping for grenades in the halls, bombs in the Rotunda and mines in the House, let me stress that the most important fact about the whip election is that it was not a narrow triumph of ideological conservatives," Gingrich wrote in a Washington Post op-ed in 1989, a week after he was elected minority whip. If the Democrats agreed, the new whip declared himself open to "fair, honest, bipartisanship."

It took only a month for Gingrich to let loose again, baying on the House floor about the "degenerate" Speaker Jim Wright. Even when Wright resigned, he would not relent. During Wright's resignation speech, he kept his hands jammed in his pockets, then stormed out to holler at reporters that Wright had "insulted... every decent person in this House." Later, he vowed: "I'm out to break the Democratic machine."

Gingrich calmed down after Thomas Foley was elected the new Democratic speaker and publicly called for a truce. "Geez, this guy's actually going to be fair," he said on Foley's first day. He praised the new leadership as a "first-rate team." On one of his zoo visits, he declined to make donkey jokes, calling it "part of my new biparti-

san approach." (He was not joking.) "It will only dawn on us over the next few months how different this era is," he added solemnly.

Well, a few months passed, and Hyde was back. At a press breakfast, Gingrich pounded on "eight to 10" Democratic congressmen who should be investigated for ethics violations. Then an aide in his office leaked the infamous "Foley — Out of the Liberal Closet" memo, which compared the speaker to his openly gay colleague Barney Frank. Gingrich called the memo "stupid" in public, but, at a private Republican National Committee meeting, he was less contrite. "When you hear somebody say 'Let's fire Lee Arwater,'" he began, referring to the consultant who drafted the memo, "they aren't any friends of... the Republican Party.... They are... left wingers," he thundered. "You're going to see weird things coming out of this city over the next few years because you're watching the death throes of a machine, and you're watching its power to... intimidate."

Every few years, after a long fit of unbridled ranting, Gingrich disappears for a while, then returns chastened, swearing he is a new man, a tamed man, a man of bipartisan instincts. Then, in a matter of months, sometimes weeks, the infernal machine starts to crackle, first in Tourettec outbursts, until it eventually erupts in a grand explosion.

The pattern runs deeper. "That was the old me," began a quote from Gingrich in a Washington Post profile called "abrasive point man talks of changing his tone and tactics" that ran in 1985. "Abrasive, confrontational. You'll see a change now." That was in January. In April, Gingrich forced a shutdown of the House when Democrats seated their candidate in a disputed Indiana election. Mocking the "bipartisan buddy system," he said: "Before I came here the Democrats and Republicans played golf, and the Democrats came off the course and beat [their] brains out. Now Republicans feel it is legitimate for them to do the same."

Gingrich is not the only mossback going soft. This election season, he-men of both parties were taught by overactive pollsters never, ever to offend the gentle ladies of the sensible center — hence the content-free, scuffle-free conventions. So they bite their tongues, smile and spread bipartisan goodwill. The Most Daring Makeover Award goes to Congressman Dan Burton, the new head of the House

Government Reform and Oversight Committee, which will investigate Travelgate, Huanggate, etc. Burton, you may remember, is the one who insisted Vince Foster was murdered, his body dumped in a Virginia park. He once staged a mock murder at his house, shooting a .38 through a fake head to see how far the sound would carry.

Not even the most partisan Republicans were thrilled to see him take charge. So Burton set about convincing the press that he's a nice guy. "On the chair Burton is very fair and as nonpartisan as possible," says his spokesman, Kevin Long. "Everyone he's served with on his committees on both sides of the aisle has indicated he's done a very fair job, and they've enjoyed it. Just ask them."

In memory of Gary Hart, I did. "You have to be kidding," said one Democrat. "He's like the Bo Gritz of the Hill." Another fumed about Burton's letter to Paul Kanjorski accusing him of sexual harassment after the Pennsylvania Democrat politely interrupted a female lawyer questioning Craig Livingston. The Republicans who served with him were no kinder. "He's a junkyard dog," one said. "It's partisanship of the worst sort."

Then there's Henry Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat famous for punching out men who cross him. (The last time was 10 years ago, when he was 70.) In the last session, Gonzalez was the ranking member of the Banking Committee, but his wife's illness and his age often kept him away. A Democratic steering committee recommended he step aside and become leader "emeritus." Gonzalez resisted, but instead of jabbing, he whimpered. "All I can do is appeal to you," he pleaded in a speech that several members later described as "poignant" and "moving." "I appeal to your sense of justice and fairness." He had Jesse Jackson Jr. nominate him for symbolic effect and promised to retire next term. That did it. "We hugged afterwards," recalls John LaFalce, the Democrat who would have won the seat. "His staff hugged. I feel magnificent today. I don't want Henry to suffer."

As it happens, the kindness is also strategic. "We could get challenged by (Bruce) Vento next term," says spokesman Gary Luczak, "but the kibosh is pretty much on that one because of his performance yesterday. It pays to be nice." Or at least to look like you are. This year, that's one thing both sides actually do agree on.

Hanna Rosin is an associate editor of The New Republic, in which this article first appeared.

© 1996, The New Republic.

AMERICAN OUTLOOK

PRODUCED BY:
CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES
FEATURES
SYNDICATE

TODAY

SUNDAY COMICS

Doonesbury

G.B. TRUDEAU

Panel 1: "WELL, HEY! DO I DO AFTER MY CAR KEY?"

Panel 2: "AND AN ANGEL... AND AN ANGEL... ON OH!"

Panel 3: "HONEY? HAVE YOU SEEN MY CAR KEY? I THINK I LEFT THEM RIGHT THERE!"

Panel 4: "ALL RIGHT IS THAT YOU A FEW YEARS FROM BEING PLUGGED WITH YOUR OWN 'GODSPEED'?"

Panel 5: "RECENT RESEARCH HAS PROVEN THAT THE PERFORMANCE OF ALL WORKERS IMPROVES IN THE PRESENCE OF... WELL..."

Panel 6: "DO YOU WANT TO SHIP ME ALIVE? I'M A PERSON, NOT A PET! IT'S A BURNING QUESTION!"

Panel 7: "HONEY, HONEY—I KNOW THAT... BUT YOU'RE NOT BETTER THAN A... WELL..."

PEANUTS

by Schulz

Panel 1: "SUBBUED, MARCIE..."

Panel 2: "SUBBUED... SUBBUED... SUBBUED IS THE WORD, MARCIE!"

Panel 3: "IT'S MY NEW THEORY, FRANKLIN... I'VE BEEN TOO LOUD IN CLASS... FROM NOW ON, I'M SUBBUED!"

Panel 4: "YES, MA'AM... SIXTEEN... JUST STAY SUBBUED... THAT'S THE SECRET..."

Panel 5: "THE NORTH SEA, MA'AM..."

Panel 6: "DON'T BE A LOUD MOUTH... SUBBUED IS THE WORD..."

Panel 7: "GO AHEAD, FRANKLIN... YOU'LL LEARN..."

Panel 8: "THE SABLE ANTELOPE!"

Panel 9: "YES, MA'AM... THE SELKIRK MOUNTAINS!"

Panel 10: "TOTALLY SUBBUED..."

Panel 11: "D-MINUS... STUDENT SEEMS HESITANT TO SPEAK UP IN CLASS..."

Stupe

By Jeff Meyer

Panel 1: "I'M STUFFED!"

Panel 2: "VERY LIKELY... THE NEW 'NO-FAT' ICE CREAM!"

Panel 3: "NO DESSERT FOR ME, ROZ..."

Panel 4: "BUT I'VE GOT THE NEW 'NO-FAT' ICE CREAM!"

Panel 5: "YEAH, BUT ONLY 200 CALORIES PER SERVING!"

Panel 6: "YEAH, BUT WHO'S A 'SERVING'?"

Panel 7: "IT SAYS HERE A SERVING IS 2.8 OUNCES..."

Panel 8: "HOW MUCH IS THAT?"

Panel 9: "JUST ENOUGH TO MAKE YOU HIND..."

Calvin and Hobbes

by Watt

Panel 1: "WHO HO HO HO... IT'S COLD OUT THERE TODAY!"

Panel 2: "ERRRR! BRISK! JUST THE WAY I LIKE IT! NOW!"

Panel 3: "SMEE! HA! WEATHER LIKE THIS LETS YOU KNOW YOU'RE ALIVE!"

Panel 4: "C'MON OUT, GANG! IT'S A PERFECT DAY! YOU'LL GET USED TO THE WIND IF YOU KEEP MOVING!"

Panel 5: "HELLO! ARE YOU GUYS JUST GOING TO STAY INSIDE ALL DAY?"

Panel 6: "SHUT THE DUMB DOOR!!"

Panel 7: "OK, OK! I WAS ON MY WAY BACK OUTSIDE ANYWAY! ...SNEESH..."

Panel 8: "JUST HOW LONG DID YOU KNOW DAD BEFORE YOU MARRIED HIM?"

Panel 1: "LOOK! A TURTLE WITH A BIRD ON HIS BACK!"

Panel 2: "WHERE?"

Panel 3: "OH, NO... WHAT'S WRONG?"

Panel 4: "MY LEFT WING IS CRAMPING..."

Panel 5: "WELL, DON'T LET GO WITH YOUR FEET!"

Panel 6: "WE'RE LOSING ALTITUDE FAST..."

Panel 7: "DON'T DROP ME!"

Panel 8: "IF I DON'T DROP YOU WELL, BOTH DIE!"

Panel 9: "BAIL OUT, KID!"

Panel 10: "I CAN'T HOLD ON! GOODBYE, JOHN..."

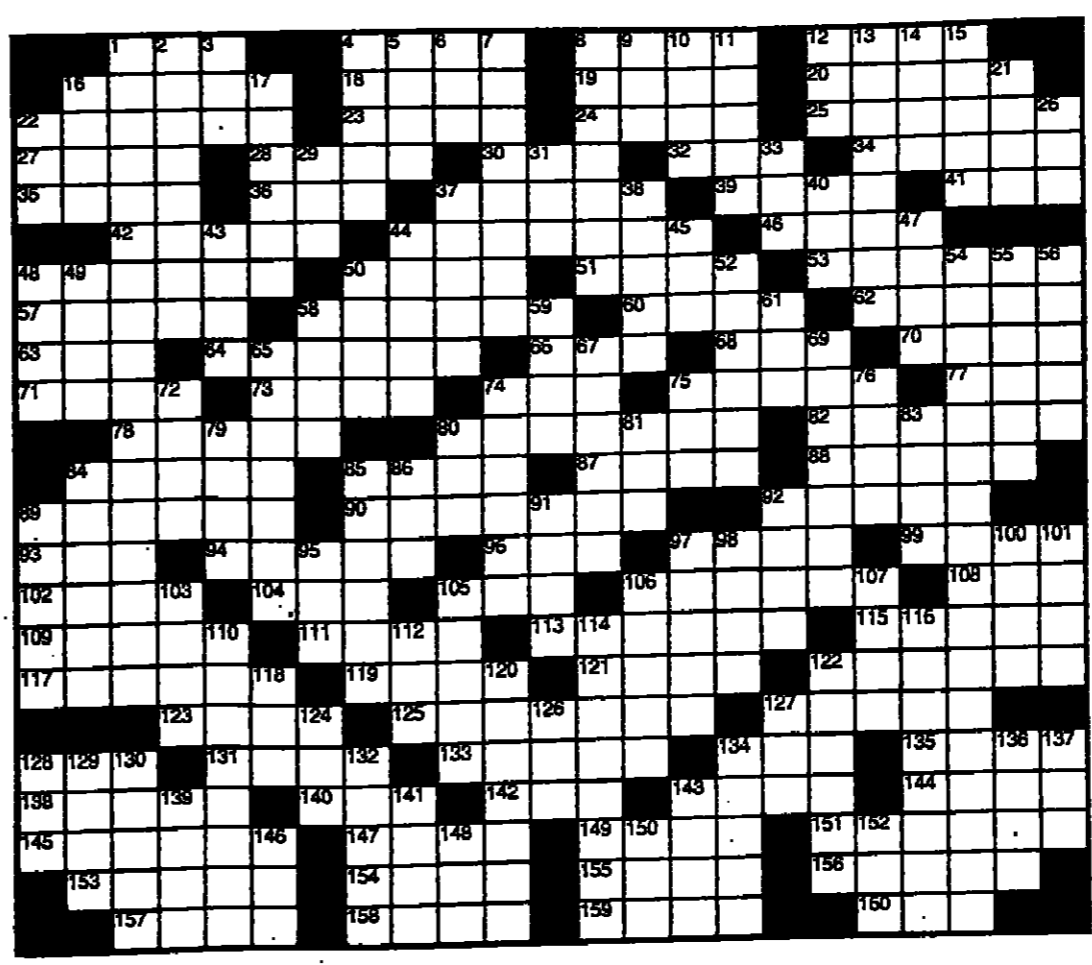
Panel 11: "LOOF"

Panel 12: "NAB"

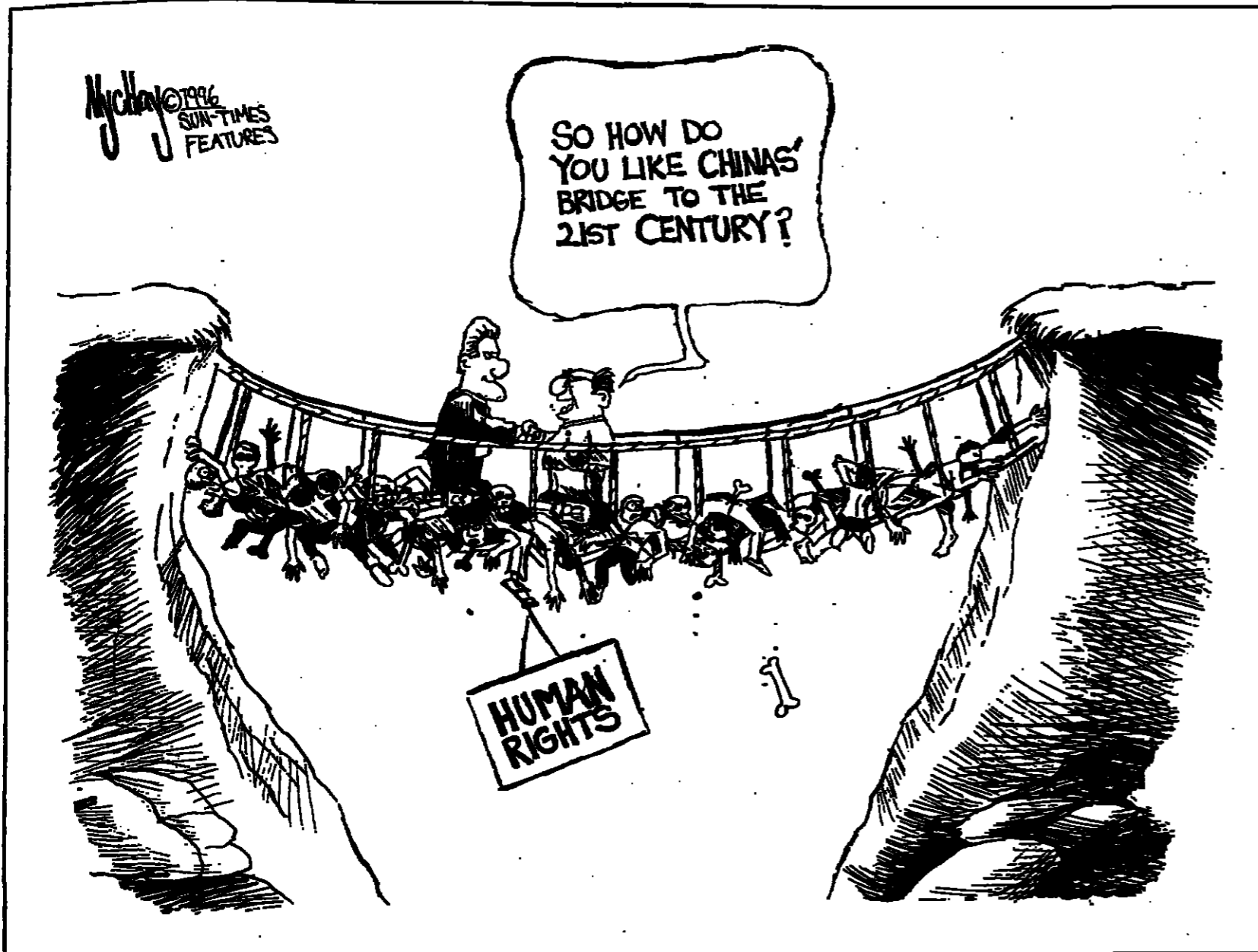
Panel 13: "I DIDN'T TELL YOU EVERYTHING ABOUT MYSELF..."

TODAY'S SUNDAY PUZZLE

- ACROSS**
- Vegas
 - Wharf
 - Tranquil
 - Greek peak
 - Bogged down
 - Impulse
 - Moby-Dick novel
 - Put to use
 - Wobble
 - On the briny
 - Spar
 - Actress Diane
 - Chills and fever
 - Singer Paul
 - Mule sheep
 - Use a chair
 - Marsh bird
 - Large rodents
 - "Love" poet
 - "Irish Rose"
 - Achievement
 - Disappointment
 - Sea duck
 - Diadem
 - Red planet
 - Pulse report
 - Brussels-based org.
 - Cake layer
 - Writer
 - Iowa village
 - Annual
 - do—well
 - Bullfinch
 - Shaver
 - Transgression
 - Type of ome
 - Victory sign
 - Back-pat
 - Not "her"
 - Etz — of the comics
 - Rear, as colts
 - Bullfinch
 - Cyprus star
 - Gambusia person
 - Comedian
 - George
 - Giza
 - Ready, kneeling
- DOWN**
- Military officer
 - Type of well
 - Visualize
 - Tremor
 - 5 Bear; Lit.
 - Vital statistic
 - High school senior's purchase
 - Flunk
 - Doctor's org.
 - At a — perplexed
 - Underlying theme
 - Acorn-bearing tree
 - Range
 - Practice boating
 - Church area
 - Great-pnt.
 - 17 Folded
 - Ono
 - 22 Sailor
 - Measled fabric
 - And not
 - 1919
 - Ventilate
 - 33 Pro—
 - Tom Cruise or Mel Gibson
 - French river
 - 40 Motorist's org.
 - Type of race
 - 44 Reused
 - Poor mark
 - Greek portico
 - Barnet
 - 48 French girlfriend
 - 50 Hawaiian bird
 - Cure
 - Medical condition
 - Baltimore player
 - 56 Scoop
 - Small stream
 - 39 Always
 - Tin Tin
 - 65 Helped a criminal
 - Gloomy paint
 - 69 Coastal city
 - Ripple
 - 72 Greek letter
 - 132 Guido's high note



Eye-in-t photog



Plight of inner-city black poor is history repeated

BY NATHAN GLAZER

Undoubtedly the most widely reviewed book on American social problems this year, and the most widely reviewed book by a sociologist in many decades, is William J. Wilson's *When Work Disappears* (Knopf). Understandably so: It deals with our most painful domestic problem, the condition of the inner-city black poor. How such misery can exist in one of the richest countries in the world is a question foreigners have long asked embarrassed Americans. And it is a question to which few have good answers.

Wilson navigates between the two answers all sensible people try to escape: that this condition can be explained by the inveterate racism of white Americans, or by some basic inferiority of blacks, genetic or cultural. Wilson's explanation, as we all know, is that the manufacturing jobs that once sustained poorly educated black Southern migrants have left Chicago, the site of Wilson's research. There follow all the associated ills of the black inner city.

But what if the premise is defective? What if work has not disappeared? As if by design, a book by another, much less feted sociologist, published this year, confronts Wilson directly — arguing that work has not disappeared for the inner-city poor. *Still the Promised City?*, asks Roger Waldinger (Harvard University Press), and his answer is yes. Waldinger has been studying New York. His title reminds us of Moses Rischin's 1962 book on New York's Jews in the late 19th and early 20th century, *The Promised City*. Today New York is again a great immigrant city, and, despite hardships, immigrants are finding their niches in the city's economy, and rising.

Understandably, when people see new immigrants struggling with low-paying jobs and small businesses that demand long hours and give small returns, and still managing to maintain their families and educate their children, they ask: Why not blacks, too? Manufacturing has indeed declined, in New York as in Chicago, but manufacturing jobs that require no special education still exist. It's just that immigrants, not blacks, get them. Better-educated blacks can get good jobs, often in the public sector, but the less educated are left out in the cold.

Is it just the difference between Chicago and New York? Partly. After all, New York did not have well-paying mass-production industri-

al sectors — steel and autos, for example. The contrast in wages between International Harvester and Western Electric — major employers that have left the black areas of Chicago Wilson studies — and New York City's garment industry, which typifies manufacturing in New York, makes it clear that losing jobs in the first is a greater blow than losing (or not getting) jobs in the second.

But Waldinger points to another factor that must be taken into account in explaining the evolution of the workless black ghetto. This is the connection between what people expect or hope to earn in jobs and the jobs available. As economists put it, the "reserve wage" of blacks — what they are willing to work for — is higher than the reserve wage of less-educated immigrants: "The immigrants' social origins predisposed them to embrace jobs that native New Yorkers would no longer accept; meager as they appeared to New Yorkers, the paychecks in the city's garment, restaurant, or retail sectors looked good in comparison to the going rate in Santo Domingo, Hong Kong, or Kingston."

Do we yet know, even after Wilson and Waldinger, what has happened to make the black ghetto such a place of despair, at a time when others still find promise in the city — in Chicago as well as in New York? Blacks who have gained advanced education or skills have left the ghetto in large numbers. But many have been left behind, at a time when — owing in part to the passage of the 1965 Immigration Reform Act — relatively low-skilled and poorly educated immigrants have been pouring into the old immigrant cities.

This contrast between the black poor and the new low-skilled immigrants undermines the "mismatch" theory of the condition of inner-city blacks — that the jobs they can fill have left the city and that they are unequipped for the jobs that are left. Uneducated immigrants are even less qualified, one would think, for the remaining low-skill jobs in the urban economy, yet they get them.

There is a different mismatch, though, that provides a better explanation. This mismatch, which emerged in the late 1960s, before the new immigrant wave became very large, was between black expectations regarding what constituted suitable work and suitable wages and what was available. These expectations may well have been fully understandable in the wake of three centuries of slavery and Jim Crow, and at a time when powerful civil rights laws were passed and agencies to enforce them were created. But this past did not change the calcula-

tions of employers as they came across applicants who expected more than they could offer and were resentful at what was provided.

Their parents, the migrants from the South, had been prepared to take the poor jobs. In this respect, they were like the earlier uneducated European immigrants, or the lower-skilled immigrants from Asia and Latin America who began coming in after the 1965 reforms. But their children expected better. Better was not available because of the poor quality of their education. Their disappointment and outrage made them poor prospects for the low-level jobs available. So new immigrants got them.

Undoubtedly the legislators who passed, in those same wonderful years of 1964 and 1965, both the civil rights laws and the new immigration law that abolished quotas and racial preferences, were fulfilling a great American promise, opening opportunity to all without consideration of race or ethnicity. Ironically, the wider gates to immigration helped undermine the promise of the civil rights law. In the absence of new immigrants, employers might have raised the wages of the jobs they had, and the real wages might then have come closer to matching the "reserve wage" of the children of the black Southern migrants.

This is the second time this scenario has played itself out. Blacks were already on the first rungs of economic advancement when W. E. B. DuBois studied the Philadelphia Negro in the 1890s, but they were being pushed off those rungs by European immigrants, whom white Americans preferred as employees or providers of services. The story was the same in New York, as Herman D. Bloch showed in his 1969 study of blacks in New York City. Combined with the ethnic and racial preferences long rooted in our history, immigration has deeply affected the fate of American blacks. In the past, simple prejudice led employers to prefer white immigrants to native blacks. In today's more tolerant America, employers — black as well as white, as Wilson's research shows — believe they have good reason to be wary of black males from the ghetto, whom they find undependable, irresponsible and angry. And once again, willing immigrants are available.

Nathan Glazer is a contributing editor to *The New Republic*, in which this article first appeared.

© 1996, The New Republic.

Rep. Archer to talk tax cut with Clinton

BY ROBERT NOVAK

Rep. Bill Archer, the top congressional tax-writer as chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, is seeking a one-on-one private meeting with President Bill Clinton to see if they can carve out a 1997 deal.

Archer has signaled publicly that, in leading his powerful committee, he is not sticking to Republican positions on either taxes or Medicare. He will not press his own national sales tax proposal or Bob Dole's 15 percent across-the-board income-tax cut. Archer does want a broad-based cut in the capital-gains tax and is willing to bargain with Clinton for this.

Along with other Republican leaders, Archer is adamantly opposed to re-creating the 1995 summit-style negotiations with the president. According to congressional sources, he also doubts that he can reach any significant agreement with the top Democrat on Ways and Means, Rep. Charles Rangel. Hence, Archer wants to deal with Clinton.

TRANSPORTATION BACKLASH

Word out of the White House that Chicago Democrat William Daley might once again be passed over for secretary of transportation by President Clinton in the interest of racial diversity created a severe backlash and probably cemented Daley into the post.

After it first appeared Daley would get the job, Clinton aides floated the name of Federal Highway Administrator Rodney Slater, an African American from Arkansas. Democratic politicians erupted, telling the White House that Slater's appointment would insult the powerful Daley family and particularly Bill Daley, who has loyally performed many services for Clinton since his disappointment four years ago. As a result, Daley seems assured of the Transportation portfolio.

That complicates Clinton's diversity problem in that Daley would replace Hispanic-American Federico Pena. Chances of Rep. Bill Richardson of New Mexico, a Hispanic, replacing Bruce Babbitt as interior secretary were enhanced. Clinton also is searching for a black or Hispanic businessman at Commerce.

GORE'S LABOR CHOICE

Vice President Al Gore, assigned a major role by Clinton in picking new domestic Cabinet members, has submitted his choice for secretary of labor: Alexis Herman, a presidential assistant in charge of public liaison at the White House.

As an African-American woman closely associated politically with the late Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, Herman would help solve Clinton's diversity problems. But her pre-Clinton business activities might pose Senate confirmation problems.

Also mentioned for the Labor post are former Sen. Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania and AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka, former head of the United Mine Workers. Trumka would eagerly become the first labor leader in many years to enter a presidential Cabinet, but Clinton is disinclined to put a union chief at the Labor Department.

QUAYLE DINING OUT

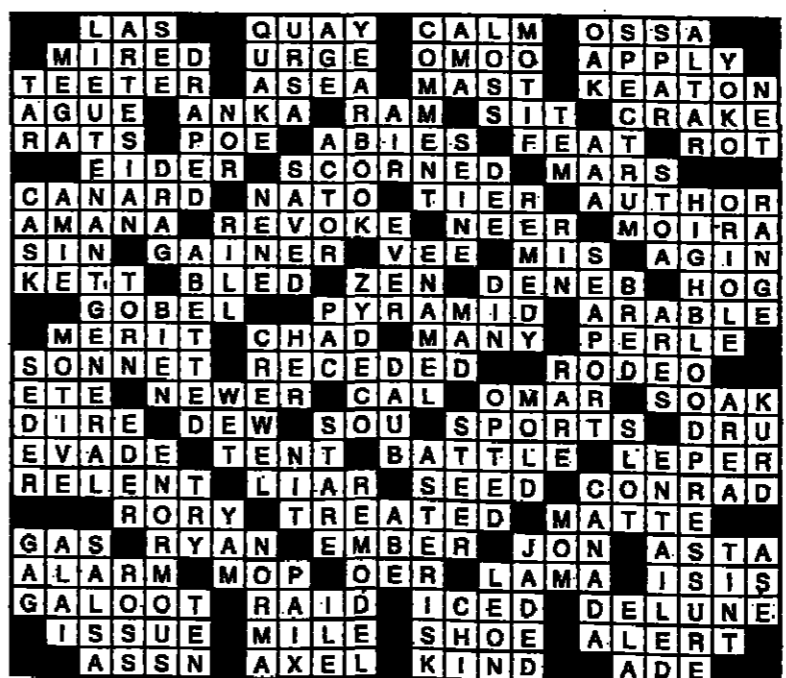
On his post-election visit to Washington, former Vice President Dan Quayle dined privately with crack campaign consultant Mike Murphy and asked some pointed questions about the ins and outs particular to presidential politics.

Table talk over dinner was mainly social, and Sen. Spencer Abraham of Michigan (a onetime Quayle staffer) also was present. But it was clear that Quayle is looking ahead to what appears to be a wide-open race for the Republican presidential nomination in 2000.

Murphy, one of the most gifted Republican television advertising experts, certainly made no commitment to Quayle. Lamar Alexander, whom Murphy worked for in the 1996 presidential campaign, probably has first call on his services for 2000. Murphy was briefly involved in Bob Dole's post-convention candidacy but resigned in one of that campaign's periodic shake-ups.

Robert Novak is a syndicated columnist of the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

© 1996, The Creators Syndicate.



© 1996 United Feature Syndicate

Ramon: I'll be next PM

MICHAL YUDELMAN

LABOR MK Haim Ramon said yesterday he could beat MK Ehud Barak in a race for the party leadership and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in the elections.

Speaking on Channel 2's *Meet the Press*, Ramon criticized the view that Barak should be elected party leader because he is the man most likely to defeat Netanyahu, since he was chief of staff and has qualities similar to those of Netanyahu's.

"This simplistic approach is wrong," said Ramon. "People said after the elections, 'Let's choose someone with a distinctive security background and he'll win.' It's a mistake [picking someone similar to Netanyahu], because today many people even in the Likud feel that Netanyahu is not suitable to be prime minister."

Regarding Barak's military background, he said, "[The late prime minister Yitzhak] Rabin did not wave his security background before the public. It was his extraordinary credibility. He did not look for the center. Barak is not Rabin, and I think Rabin and I had a few things in common."

Ramon said that, if he runs for the leadership, "I don't intend to be the candidate of one camp in Labor, who wants to get 10% or 30% or 40%. If I run, it will be to win and first I'll have to prove to

the party members that I can beat Netanyahu, no less and in my opinion even more than Barak."

He added, "If I run, I have the ability both to beat Barak in the party leadership showdown, which is already half the victory, and to beat Netanyahu in the Knesset elections."

Ramon said that if he decides not to run, then he will probably support MK Yossi Beilin in the leadership showdown. He said, however, that if it is clear to him in 1999 that Barak can win the election, "then I will certainly support him for prime minister." He added that Beilin also said he would support Barak in such a case.

Ramon denied having any plans to quit Labor and field a separate list in the elections, even if the party convention decides in January not to hold open primaries, as Ramon is demanding as a condition to his running for the party leadership. As a party member, he said, if "whoever is elected leader wants me to take part, I will be part of the leadership."

Barak's spokesman, Uri Katzir, said in response last night that, "According to public opinion polls, the support for Barak comes from his credibility and responsibility, political and security experience, and not having the background of a political functionary."



Prof. David Hartman discusses Hanukka with pupils from the secular Beit Hinuch and religious Hartman-Zurieli high schools on Friday at Jerusalem's Shalom Hartman Institute. (Ariel Jerolimski)

WEATHER

Jerusalem 7-14
Beersheba 9-19
Tel Aviv 13-20
Haifa 12-15
Ashdod 12-15
Ramat Gan 12-15
Netanya 12-15
Ashdod 12-15
Ramat Gan 12-15
Netanya 12-15

Forecast: Rainy.

AROUND THE WORLD

London	10-15
Paris	10-15
Rome	10-15
Moscow	10-15
Beijing	10-15
London	10-15
Paris	10-15
Rome	10-15
Moscow	10-15
Beijing	10-15

Labor: Police fudging election fraud probe

MICHAL YUDELMAN

SENIOR Labor Party members say the police are "fudging" the investigation of massive vote fraud in the Knesset elections last May, although the fraud squad has cracked the system by which thousands of votes were forged.

Labor's Knesset faction intends to ask the Knesset Interior Committee, chaired by Labor MK Salah Tarif, to invite Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani and the head of the police fraud squad to discuss the election fraud. Labor lodged a complaint with the police after receiving information that votes had been forged in scores of polling stations, mainly in the haredi sector.

Labor people also examined several dozen ballot boxes from around the country and found indications of thousands of fraudulent votes. In many stations the number of people who registered to vote did not correspond with the vote results, and in many cases people who were abroad on election day or had died had "registered" as though they had voted.

In addition, Labor collected testimony from polling station activists from right-wing and hardi parties, which were published in the media, explaining exactly how and when they forged votes behind the backs of Labor observers at the polling stations.

Israel Radio's Yoel Nir reported yesterday that three weeks ago Labor people said the investigation was on the verge of a turning point, since the police had cracked the forgery system used in the elections and the "hard core" of those behind the fraud. They said the fraud squad was about to summon two senior figures, one from the Likud and the other from Agudat Yisrael, for questioning.

But since then, they said, the police has been "fudging" the investigation and failed to summon either the politicians or the forgers' hard core for questioning. Labor's Knesset faction chairman Ra'anan Cohen intends to raise the issue before the Central Elections Committee, which is due to convene in 10 days.

Health funds to handle psychiatric care

JUDY SIEGEL

THE four health funds will on January 1 take over responsibility from the government for providing their members with psychiatric care — if the Knesset Labor and Social Affairs Committee approves the transfer tomorrow. Psychiatric services were to have been added to the basket of health services a year ago.

Dr. Ze'ev Kaplan, a former director of the Beersheba Mental Health Center, who six months ago was lent by the Israel Defense Forces to the Health Ministry to direct its mental health service, said everything is ready for the transfer. "If the committee does not approve it, I will be very disappointed," he said.

However, he added that there would be no extra funds — even though they are much needed — for psychiatric services. The health funds, which have been demanding hundreds of millions of shekels beyond their share of health taxes to finance these services, will divide up only the NIS 600 million that the ministry spent

this year on these services, Kaplan said. "The country's leaders have to decide whether their priorities allow improved care for the mentally disturbed."

A total of 931 patients — mentally disabled, autistic, and other individuals who are currently treated in psychiatric facilities even though they do not suffer from psychiatric illnesses — will remain under Health Ministry funding. But Kaplan says his office will try to get these patients under the care of other ministries, such as Labor and Social Affairs, as they should be due to their condition.

Psychiatric services were to have been supplied by the health funds on January 1, 1996, but preparations were slow in coming; a July 1 deadline passed without implementation as well. Only in recent weeks did the Health Ministry present detailed plans for the takeover to the Treasury. "I hope that the proposed budget cuts in health services will not be implemented, as our plans would be affected," Kaplan concluded.

Haifa approves Kaszner Park

THE Haifa City Council has decided by a narrow majority to name a public park in memory of Yisrael Kaszner, who saved hundreds of Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust but was later accused of having cooperated with the Nazis.

The decision was made last week after a city council meeting attended by over 200 people, including some of those whom Kaszner helped save and their descendants.

Opponents of the proposal, however, led by city councillor Avi Goldhammer (Likud), maintained that Kaszner has been a controversial figure and it would be wrong to name any public place after him.

Originally, the municipality's committee for naming streets and places had recommended naming a road after Kaszner following pressure from survivors.

The issue caused a furor and Mayor Amram Mizna decided that a decision should be made by a full meeting of the city council. A compromise was proposed

even before the meeting: naming a park or public place in memory of Kaszner rather than a road.

Kaszner, a prominent member of Hungary's Jewish community, returned there in 1944 and reportedly made deals with SS officers to trade Jews for money.

Altogether, he managed to save 1,684 Jews who escaped from Hungary on a train to Switzerland. It was also reported that as many as 15,000 others, who were sent to concentration camps, managed to survive as a result of the money Kaszner used to bribe SS officers.

In 1952, however, he was accused of having cooperated with the Nazis, and of not having done enough to save other Jews.

A libel case ensued and Kaszner, who lived for a time in Haifa after World War II, was eventually exonerated when the case went to the Supreme Court. In 1957 he was shot dead in Tel Aviv, allegedly by three former members of the Lehi underground. David Rudge

ACT NOW! **SURPRISE CORNER** **HAPPY HANUKKA**

AT 1/2 PRICE

Set of writing tools only **9.95 NIS** per set

Paint set (40 pieces) only **2.95 NIS** per set

Package of 6 writing pads (each pad 50 pages) only **9.95 NIS** per package

Paint set (30 pieces) only **3.95 NIS** per set

Look out for the next surprise ...

Offer valid until 10.12.96 or while supplies last. Details in the stores.

HYPERCOL SUPER-SOL

Also available at **TELE-SAL** 177-022-5656

New credit until **229**

Details in the stores

Also available via **TELE-SAL** 177-022-5656

In those areas served by Tele-Sal only.

Free

100 PAGES

NEW SUNDAY 5

The New York Times

Warrant's...

to change

Reform.

conservative

conversion

abroad

de

Remain...

הקטן והגדול